

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY SOFIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 001239

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT BUDAPEST 03920 ACTION SECSTATE 4DEC 75
QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUDAPEST 3920

EXDIS

E.O. 11"52: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, HU

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH JANOS KADAR

REF: STATE 284674

1. MCAULIFFE CALLED ON FIRST SECRETARY KADAR AT HEADQUARTERS
HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY AT 11:30 DECEMBER 4
AND THEY CONFERRED UNTIL 1300. ONLY OTHER PERSON PRESENT
WAS DR. BANLAKI, FONOFF INTERPRETER.

2. AT OUTSET KADAR EMERGED FROM HIS OFFICE, GREETED
MCAULIFFE WITH SOME WARMTH AND THEN ESCORTED HIM TO A
COMFORTABLE BUT NOT PLUSH ARMCHAIR WHILE HE SETTLED DOWN
IN ITS TWIN. HAVING ORDERED UP A ROUND OF ORANGE JUICE,
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KADAR SAID HE HAD LONG WANTED TO MEET "NEW AMERICAN

AMBASSADOR" BUT PRESS OF DUTIES HAD PREVENTED HIM FROM DOING SO, THAT HE ALWAYS MET WITH ENVOYS FROM SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IN HIS "PARTY CAPACITY", AND THAT HE TRIED TO MEET WITH CHIEFS OF MISSION FROM NON-SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WHEN HE COULD AND WHEN COUNTRIES WANTED SUCH A MEETING. HE SAID HE FELT PRESENT TIME WAS OPPORTUNE.

3. MCAULIFFE SAID HE WAS HONORED AND PLEASED TO BE RECEIVED BY FIRST SECRETARY HSWP AND THAT HE WAS CERTAIN HE WOULD BENEFIT GREATLY FROM EXCHANGE OF THOUGHTS, NO MATTER HOW BRIEF, WITH HISTORIC FIGURE LIKE SECRETARY KADAR. RECALLING HIS APRIL 28 MEETING WITH PRESIDENT OF HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, MCAULIFFE SAID HE HAD TOLD LOSONCZI HE HAD INSTRUCTIONS TO IMPROVE AND NORMALIZE BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN U.S. AND HUNGARY AS RAPIDLY AS CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD PERMIT; THAT HE WAS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO DO NOTHING THAT WOULD DAMAGE HUNGARY'S RELATIONS WITH ITS FRIENDS AND ALLIES; AND THAT HE WAS ALSO UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO INSURE THAT NOTHING OCCURRED IN THE BILATERAL CONTEXT WHICH WOULD DAMAGE AMERICA'S RELATIONS WITH ITS FRIENDS AND ALLIES. IN THAT CONTEXT HE WAS PLEASED ON THIS OCCASION TO BRING THE FIRST SECRETARY AN ORAL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT FORD. MCAULIFFE READ ALOUD ENTIRE MESSAGE IN PARA ONE REFTEL. HE THEN GAVE DR. BANLAKI (INTERPRETER) HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE VERSION WHICH EMBASSY HAD PREPARED WHICH LATTER THEN READ ALOUD. KADAR EXPRESSED SURPRISE AND APPRECIATION AT RECEIVING "PERSONAL MESSAGE" FROM PRESIDENT AND QUICKLY ADDED INQUIRINGLY THAT MESSAGE COULD NOT HAVE COME FROM WASHINGTON. MCAULIFFE RESPONDED THAT HE ALWAYS RECEIVED HIS INSTRUCTIONS THROUGH DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THAT MESSAGE FROM CHIEF EXECUTIVE HAD ARRIVED OVERNIGHT. KADAR SAID HE FOUND HIMSELF IN SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT WITH VIEWS EXPRESSED BY PRESIDENT FORD, THAT HE WOULD LIKE OPPORTUNITY TO PONDER PRESIDENT'S WORDS AND ASKED IF HE MIGHT RETAIN HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE VERSION. MCAULIFFE AGREED.

4. MCAULIFFE SAID EXPERIENCE HAD TAUGHT HIM TO BE DISCREET WHEN CALLING ON SENIOR FOREIGN OFFICIALS, THAT ONLY HIS DEPUTY, HIS PERSONAL SECRETARY AND ONE CODE CLERK KNEW OF CONFIDENTIAL

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HIS APPOINTMENT WITH KADAR AND THAT KNOWLEDGE OF THEIR MEETING WAS ALSO CLOSELY HELD IN WASHINGTON SINCE WE ON AMERICAN SIDE HAD NO IDEA OF SUBJECTS WHICH MIGHT BE DISCUSSED AND WISHED CAUSE OUR HUNGARIAN HOSTS NO EMBARRASSMENT AT ANY TIME. KADAR REPLIED THAT PRESIDENT FORD'S MESSAGE TO HIM WOULD RECEIVE "APPROPRIATE CLOSE HANDLING"; BUT THAT HE WISHED PUBLICIZE FACT THAT FIRST SECRETARY HSWP HAD RECEIVED AMERICAN AMBASSADOR FOR COURTESY CALL AND THAT THEY HAD

ENGAGED IN GENERAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. MCAUL
FFE SAID HE
WOULD BE GUIDED BY KADAR'S WISHES. HE THEN ASSURED KADAR
THAT, IF FIRST SECRETARY WERE EVER TO FIND IT NECESSARY TO
SEND INFORMAL MESSAGE OF ANY SORT TO HIGHER LEVELS IN USG,
HE COULD GUARANTEE SPEEDY AND SECURE DELIVERY WITHIN
MATTER OF HOURS, THUS DISPENSING WITH INTERMEDIARIES.
KADAR EXPRESSED HIS THANKS AND SAID HE MIGHT, AFTER
HAVING CONFERRED WITH "ONE OR TWO ASSOCIATES" WISH TO
SEND RESPONSE OF SOME SORT TO PRESIDENT, AND THAT HE
APPRECIATED MCAULIFFE'S OFFER.

5. KADAR THEN SAID HE WISHED TO SPEAK "EARNESTLY" ABOUT
SEVERAL TOPICS:

A) OBJECTIVITY -- FIRST SECRETARY SAID HE URGES
EVERY VISITOR TO HUNGARY AND EVERY AMBASSADOR "INCLUDING
SOVIET AMBASSADOR, COMRADE PAVLOV" TO LOOK AT HUNGARY AS
IT IS AND TO REPORT FAITHFULLY TO HIS GOVERNMENT OBJECTIVE
CONDITIONS AS THEY EXIST. IF -- AS MCAULIFFE HAD SAID --
HE HAD BECOME AN HISTORIC FIGURE, IT WAS NOT A ROLE HE
HAD SOUGHT. WHETHER EVENTS SHAHE MEN'S LIVES OR MEN
CONTROL EVENTS IS QUESTION FOR DEBATE BY PROFESSORS AND
HISTORIANS. IN ANY CASE HE HAD FOUND HIMSELF LONG AGO
IN AN UNUSUAL SITUATION AND IN ONE THAT WAS NOT COMFORTABLE.
HE -- AND HE WAS NOT ALONE -- SAW WHAT NEEDED TO BE DONE;
FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS HE HAD DONE WHAT NEEDED DOING;

T HAD NOT BEEN EASY, ALL THE DECISIONS HAD BEEN DIFFICULT,
SOMEONE ELSE MIGHT HAVE DONE IT BETTER; BUT THE TASK HAD
FALLEN TO HIM, HE HAD DONE IT, AND EVERYTHING WAS A LOT
BETTER TODAY FOR EVERYBODY THAN IT HAD BEEN THEN.

IF HE HAD BECOME AN "HISTORIC FIGURE", KADAR WENT ON,

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T WAS BECAUSE OF THE PRESS, MOSTLY THE WESTERN PRESS,
AND ESPECIALLY AMERICAN TELEVISION. SOME OF THE HARSH
THINGS SAID AND WRITTEN NINETEEN YEARS AGO STILL LIVED
ON IN MEN'S MEMORIES. AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME THERE
HAD BEEN A GENERAL AMNESTY. THEN LATER, WHEN CONDITIONS
HAD IMPROVED AND LIFE HAD RETURNED TO NORMAL, HE HAD
DECIDED THAT MORE FOREIGNERS SHOULD SEE MODERN HUNGARY
AND MORE HUNGARIANS SHOULD SEE WESTERN EUROPE AND
OTHER PARTS OF CAPITALIST WORLD. VISITS TO FRG HAD
CONVINCED HUNGARIANS THAT "ALL GERMAN FENCES ARE MADE
OF SAUSAGE (WURST)" AND VISITS TO AUSTRIA HAD CONVINCED
THEM THAT "ALL AUSTRIAN WALLS MADE OF CHOCOLATE." THIS
REVELATION HAD FORCED GOH TO RAISE LIVING STANDARDS
APPRECIABLY AND THAT IMPROVEMENT HAD IN TURN CONVINCED
MOST HUNGARIANS THAT "SOCIALIST SYSTEM" YIELDS BENEFICIAL

RESULTS. INCREASED FLOW OF HUNGARIANS TO "WEST"
HAD ALSO DISCLOSED ASPECTS OF "CAPITALIST LIFE"
WHICH THEY FIND DISTASTEFUL AND GROSSLY UNFAIR. AND
VISITS IN RECENT YEARS BY MILLIONS OF TOURISTS AND
VISITORS FROM WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA HAVE
DISCLOSED THAT HUNGARIANS LIVE QUITE WELL, THAT THEY DO
NOT WEAR SHACKLES AND THAT OVERWHELMING MAJORITY PREFER
TO LIVE AND WORK IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY BUILDING A BETTER
FUTURE. WESTERNERS UNDOUBTEDLY FIND ASPECTS OF HUNGARIAN
LIFE WHICH THEY DISLIKE; BUT, DUE TO STEADILY
INCREASING KNOWLEDGE AMONG ORDINARY PEOPLE, IT IS
EVER MORE DIFFICULT FOR WESTERN MEDIA TO PUBLISH
RUBBISH ABOUT HUNGARY AND ITS LEADERS. KADAR THEN
LEANED FORWARD WITH A SMILE AND A BROAD WINK AND SAID
IT IS ALSO MORE DIFFICULT FOR HUNGARIAN MEDIA TO INVENT
STORIES ABOUT EVENTS AND QUALITY OF LIFE IN WEST EUROPE
AND NORTH AMERICA. SO, HE CONCLUDED, ALTHOUGH "SOME"
STILL ENTERTAIN MANY RESERVATIONS ABOUT CSCE BASKET
THREE, AND ALTHOUGH SOCIALIST STATES MAY NOT MOVE AS
QUICKLY AND FORTHRIGHTLY AS SOME OF 35 SIGNATORIES AT
HELSINKI MIGHT WISH, THERE IS AN INEVITABILITY IN
ENTIRE PROCESS. KADAR THEN AGAIN URGED MCAULIFFE TO
REPORT OBJECTIVELY TO WASHINGTON.

B) CSCE -- HELSINKI SUMMIT LAST AUGUST SYMBOLIZES,
SAID KADAR, THAT LEADERS OF GOVERNMENTS IN EUROPE AND
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AMERICA HAVE DECIDED IN FAVOR OF PEACE, NOT WAR. HE
SAID HE KNOWS AND HAS GREAT RESPECT FOR SOVIET LEADERS;
HE SAID HE DOES NOT KNOW BUT HAS GREAT RESPECT FOR
"PRESENT AND RECENT U.S. LEADERSHIP." SOVIET AND U.S.
LEADERS, KADAR SAID, HAVE LED 33 OTHER NATIONS THROUGH
LONG CSCE NEGOTIATION TO CEREMONIES AT HELSINKI.
WITHOUT WISDOM AND COOPERATION BETWEEN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON
THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO "BASKETS", OR ONLY EMPTY ONES.
IN LAST YEAR AND HALF HE HAD READ MUCH ABOUT NUCLEAR
WEAPONS, THEIR EFFECTS AND LIKELY COURSE OF NUCLEAR
WAR IF IT SHOULD EVER BREAK OUT IN EUROPE. OBSERVING
THAT MCAULIFFE HAD FORMERLY SERVED AT NATO AND "WITH
MILITARY AT SUPREME NATO HEADQUARTERS", HE ASKED FOR
LATTER'S OPINION. SPEAKING PERSONALLY, MCAULIFFE
REPLIED THAT HE HAD MET, KNOWN, LIKED AND ADMIRERED MANY
HARD-WORKING, PATRIOTIC, INTELLIGENT, SERIOUS-
MINDED GENERALS AND ADMIRALS FROM EVERY ALLIED COUNTRY.
HE RESPECTED FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE OF "EXPERTS" ON NUCLEAR
WEAPONS; BUT HE HAD YET TO MEET AN "EXPERT ON NUCLEAR
WARFARE" BECAUSE NO MAN POSSESSES SUCH EXPERIENCE.
THERE ARE MANY FINE ARTICLES BY CIVILIAN ANALYSTS AND
MILITARY AUTHORS BUT THEY ARE HYPOTHETICAL. MCAULIFFE

SAID WORLD SHOULD BE GRATEFUL THAT FIVE "NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES" ARE RULED BY SENSIBLE, RATIONAL MEN; THAT NO WEAPONS HAVE GOTTEN INTO HANDS OF NATIONS WHOSE LEADERS ARE IRRATIONAL OR POWER-MAD; AND THAT INEVITABLE ADVANCE OF TECHNOLOGY MAKES IT NECESSARY THAT PRESENT POLITICAL LEADERS TAKE ADVANTAGE OF PRESENT OPPORTUNITIES TO REACH REASONABLE SOLUTIONS THAT MUST INEVITABLY INVOLVE COMPROMISES. KADAR AGREED SAYING HE UNDERSTOOD THAT U.S. HAS MEGATONNAGE AND DELIVERY SYSTEM TO TOTALLY DESTROY USSR BY FACTOR OF 14 AND THAT SOVIETS HAVE CAPABILITY TO DESTROY U.S. BY FACTOR OF 7. HIS CONCERN, HE SAID, IS FOR HUNGARY, WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO SMALL HUNGARY --AND ALL THE MIDDLE-SIZED EUROPEAN STATES -- IF MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON EVER FIND IT NECESSARY TO RELEASE SUCH FURY.

RETURNING TO CSCE, KADAR SAID HUNGARY WOULD LIVE BY AND COMPLY WITH WHOLE DOCUMENT, ALL THREE "BASKETS." HUNGARY MUST TRADE WITH EAST AND WEST; IT HAS ALWAYS DONE SO UNDER EVERY POLITICL AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONFIDENTIAL

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SYSTEM;IT MUST CONTINUE TO DO SO. THERE ARE THEORETICANS WHO ARGUE FOR MORE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN CEMA. MORE INTEGRATION IS NECESSARY AS ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL CONDITIONS CHANGE; THE BURDEN OF ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE BECOMES EVER HEAVIER ESPECIALLY FOR SMALL NATIONS WHICH LACK NATURAL RESOURCES -- BUT HE, KADAR, IS OPPOSED TO INTEGRATION SOLELY FOR INTEGRATION'S SAKE. THEN THERE ARE SOME WHO ARGUE THAT HUNGARY SHOULD SHIFT MORE OF ITS FOREIGN COMMERCE -- NOW 60 PERCENT EAST, 40 PERCENT WEST -- TO TRADE WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THAT, TOO, MAKES NO SENSE FOR HUNGARY NEEDS ACCESS TO TECHNOLOGY, TO MARKETS, AND TO RAW MATERIALS,MANY OF WHICH CAN BE FOUND ONLY IN CAPITALIST WORLD. HUNGARY'S TRADE WITH UK AND FRANCE IS UNIMPORTANT AND LIKELY TO REMAIN SO; ITS TRADE WITH FRG IS IMPORTANT AND THERE ARE GROWING AND ATTRACTIVE MARKETS FOR HUNGARIAN GOODS OUTSIDE EUROPE. GOH HONESTLY WISHES TO EXPAND TRADE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH U.S. BECAUSE AMERICA IS HUGE, WEALTHY AND TECHNOLOGICALLY ADVANCED; BUT THERE DO EXIST UNFORTUNATE BARRIERS TO NORMAL DEVELOPMENT. MCAULIFFE INTERRUPTED TO RECALL BUTZ-HAVASI CONVERSATION OF NOVEMBER 25 (BUDAPEST 3860, PARA 2) AND TO REPEAT WHAT SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE HAD SAID. KADAR SAID HE HAD ALREADY RECEIVED THAT REPORT AND THAT HE WAS GRATEFUL SECRETARY BUTZ HAD SPOKEN SO OPENLY AND FRANKLY. PROSPECT OF WAITING UNTIL 1977 FOR MODIFICATION OF TRADE ACT OF 1974 DID NOT DELIGHT HIM; BUT HE WAS A PATIENT MAN, AND IT WAS ALWAYS BETTER TO KNOW THE FACTS FROM A SENIOR

CABINET LEVEL OFFICIAL THAN TO BE IGNORANT OF THEM.

HARKING BACK TO CSCE AGAIN, KADAR SAID HE IS REALIST AND HE BELIEVES THAT U.S. LEADERS ARE, TOO. GOH WILL WORK FAITHFULLY TO IMPLEMENT CSCE, TO EXPAND EXCHANGES AT EVERY LEVEL; BUT ONE MUST BE REALISTIC -- GOH WILL MOVE AT ITS OWN PACE. IT SEEKS EXPANDED TRADE WITH U.S. IN ITS OWN ECONOMIC SELF-INTEREST; IT WILL SEEK ACCESS TO MARKETS AND RAW MATERIALS IN CAPITALIST WORLD FOR SAME REASON. THERE IS ALSO "POLICY OR POLITICAL INTEREST" IN THESE ACTIVITIES, SAID KADAR WITH ANOTHER HUGE WINK, BECAUSE HUNGARY DOES NOT WISH TO ALLOW ITSELF TO BECOME TOTALLY DEPENDENT
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ON ANY SINGLE NATIONAL MARKET OR ON ANY SINGLE NATIONAL SUPPLIER OF PETROLEUM AND OTHER RAW MATERIALS.

CSCE WILL -- IF SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENTED, FIRST SECRETARY SAID, LEAD TO COEXISTENCE BETWEEN AND AMONG MANY STATES. PROFESSING DISLIKE FOR WORD "DETE
TE"

WHICH STRUCK HIM AS STATIC CONDITION, KADAR SAID THAT SUCCESSFUL COEXISTENCE WOULD OVER TIME BANISH WORD "SATELLITE" FROM VOCABULARY OF WESTERN AND EASTERN PROPAGANDISTS. HE SAID HE WAS GLAD NOT TO BE GOVERNMENTAL LEADER OF EITHER SUPERPOWER BECAUSE IN RECENT TIMES HE HAD OFTEN WITNESSED SITUATIONS IN WARSAW PACT AND CEMA CONCLAVES WHERE TAIL WAGS THE DOG; AND HE KNEW FROM NEWSPAPER READING THAT WASHINGTON OFTEN FINDS ITSELF IN THAT SAME UNCOMFORTABLE POSITION.

C) FUTURE WORK -- IN CLOSING KADAR SAID HE DID NOT WISH DISCUSS SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND ISSUES BETWEEN U.S. AND GOH, THAT THESE WERE MATTERS THAT AGENCIES OF GOH SHOULD HANDLE. HE ASKED MCAULIFFE TO CONVEY TO PRESIDENT FORD "HIS PERSONAL GRATITUDE AND THAT OF THE PARTY" FOR SENDING TO BUDAPEST A SKILLED AND WELL-BALANCED AMBASSADOR WHO HAD HEWED TO POLICY AND NOT BECOME DISTURBED WHEN "AN UNFORTUNATE AND REGRETTABLE EVENT" OCCURRED SEVERAL MONTHS AGO. (:9..3,5: MCAULIFFE INTERPRETED THIS REMARK AS SLY, CRYPTIC REFERENCE TO REVESZ AFFAIR (BUDAPEST 2981 AND PREVIOUS) WHICH, FOR OBVIOUS REASONS, HE DID NOT ATTEMPT TO CLARIFY.) KADAR SAID THRUST OF CURRENT U.S. ACTIVITIES HAS FOUND FAVOR IN HUNGARY AND WILL BE SUPPORTED BY ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT.

MCAULIFFE OBSERVED THAT VISITS BY MOST SENIOR U.S. OFFICIALS HAD GONE OFF EXTREMELY WELL IN U.S. VIEW AND ASKED IF FIRST SECRETARY HAD REACHED SAME JUDGMENT.

KADAR AGREED. MCAULIFFE ASKED WHETHER, BY INVITING DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER HAVASI, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER SZEKER, FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER BIRO, AGRICULTURE MINISTER ROMANY, FOREIGN OFFICE STATE SECRETARY MARJAI AND DEPUTY AGRICULTURE MINISTER VANCSEA, USG HAD ATTEMPTED
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TOO MUCH. FIRST SECRETARY REPLIED WITH HUGE SMILE THAT AMERICANS SHOULD NOT EXPECT HUNGARIAN OFFICIALDOM TO VISIT U.S. EN MASSE SINCE CABINET MEETING IN WASHINGTON MIGHT BE HARD TO EXPLAIN; BUT THAT HUNGARIANS NEEDED TO KNOW MORE ABOUT U.S. AND TO MAKE NECESSARY AND IN MANY CASES INITIAL CONTACTS WITH U.S. INDUSTRIAL, SCIENTIFIC AND AGRICULTURAL LEADERS.

IN GOOD TIME KADAR SAID --AND AT A PACE THAT SUITS BOTH COUNTRIES -- HE HOPES AND HE STRIVES TO ACHIEVE TWO GOALS: 1) BENEFITS OF MFN, AND 2) RETURN TO HUNGARY OF CROWN OF ST. ISTVAN AND ROYAL REGALIA. MCAULIFFE AGAIN RECALLED SECRETARY BUTZ' NOVEMBER 25 CONVERSATION WITH DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER HAVASI, APPLAUDED PREPARATORY WORK THAT HUNGARIAN-US CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE ARE DOING FOR DAY WHEN MFN RESTRICTIONS NO LONGER OBTAIN. MCAULIFFE ALSO CITED RECENT GENERAL MOTORS-RABA DEAL AS EXAMPLE OF WHAT CAN BE DONE TO EXPAND USEFUL TWO-WAY TRADE EVEN WITHOUT MFN. MCAULIFFE ALSO NOTED THAT FONMIN PUJA AND ANDRAS GYENES HAD DISCUSSED CROWN WITH DEPUTY SECRETARY INGERSOLL DURING LATTER'S SEPTEMBER VISIT. DEPUTY SECRETARY HAD SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE OPPORTUNITIES TO TREAT THIS TOPIC AS BILATERAL RELATIONS DEVELOP AND HAD PROMISED TO LOOK INTO MATTER UPON HIS RETURN TO WASHINGTON AND TO SEE WHAT MIGHT BE DONE IN DUE COURSE. MCAULIFFE CONFESSED THAT HE HAD NO STARTLING REVELATION TO MAKE, BUT THAT HE COULD ADVISE FIRST SECRETARY THAT MR. INGERSOLL HAD KEPT HIS WORD TO THE LETTER. THERE HAD BEEN EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN BUDAPEST DURING THE INTERVENING MONTHS WHICH WOULD INDICATE THAT WORK WAS GOING FORWARD IN WASHINGTON. KADAR EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION. HE SAID HE WAS GLAD THE U.S. SIDE HAD NOT FORGOTTEN, AND AGAIN DESCRIBED HIMSELF AS A PATIENT MAN.

6. AS MEETING BROKE UP, KADAR AGAIN EXPRESSED THANKS FOR MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT FORD. HE SAID HE COULD REMEMBER A TIME WHEN POSSIBILITY OF "CONSTRUCTIVE MESSAGE" FROM PRESIDENT OF UNITED STATES TO JANOS KADAR WAS UNTHINKABLE. THERE ARE MANY ISSUES, VERY BASIC IDEOLOGICAL ONES ON WHICH USG AND GOH WILL NEVER AGREE. ON CERTAIN SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS TOO, THERE
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ARE STILL MANY QUESTIONS ON WHICH TWO COUNTRIES SEE MATTERS DIFFERENTLY; BUT WITH POSITIVE COOPERATIVE EFFORT OVER TIME HE BELIEVES THAT THESE WILL BECOME FEWER OR THAT DEBATE OVER THEM WILL BECOME LESS VITUPERATIVE.

7. MCAULIFFE AGAIN OFFERED TO ACT AS A CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION FOR FIRST SECRETARY IF NEED SHOULD ARISE. HE ALSO EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THIS "COURTESY CALL" WOULD NOT BE THEIR LAST CONVERSATION. KADAR SAID THAT IN PRINCIPLE HE WOULD BE HAPPY RECEIVE MCAULIFFE AGAIN FOR SIMILAR DISCUSSION OF MAJOR POLICY MATTERS BUT THAT GOH OF COURSE TRANSACTS REGULAR DAY-TO-DAY BUSINESS WITH FOREIGN DIPLOMATIC ESTABLISHMENTS IN BUDAPEST.

8. COMMENTS:

A) KADAR WAS SURPRISED AND TOUCHED BY ORAL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT FORD.

B) HIS COMPLEXION DOES NOT SIGNAL ROBUST HEALTH; BUT THE MAN HAS GENUINE BEARING AND DIGNITY; HE IS ALERT, KEEN-WITTED, SELF-COMPOSED, JOVIAL AND POSSESSOR OF WEALTH OF ANECDOTES.

C) HIS NEAT, WELL-APPOINTED BUT MODEST OFFICE AND STUDY ARE LINED WITH BOOKS AND PERIODICALS THAT LOOK AS IF THEY HAVE BEEN READ. THERE ARE NO PHOTOS OF JANOS KADAR. THERE IS A LARGE, HEROIC FULL LENGTH OIL OF LENIN, AND BUST OF KARL MARX AND A PROMINENTLY DISPLAYED AUTOGRAPHED PHOTOGRAPH OF BREZHNEV.

D) IT'S MCAULIFFE'S INTERPRETATION THAT U.S. RECEIVED SIGNAL FROM UMPIRE TO RUN OFF OUR NEXT SERIES OF DOWN.

MCAULIFFE
UNQUOTE
INGERSOLL

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